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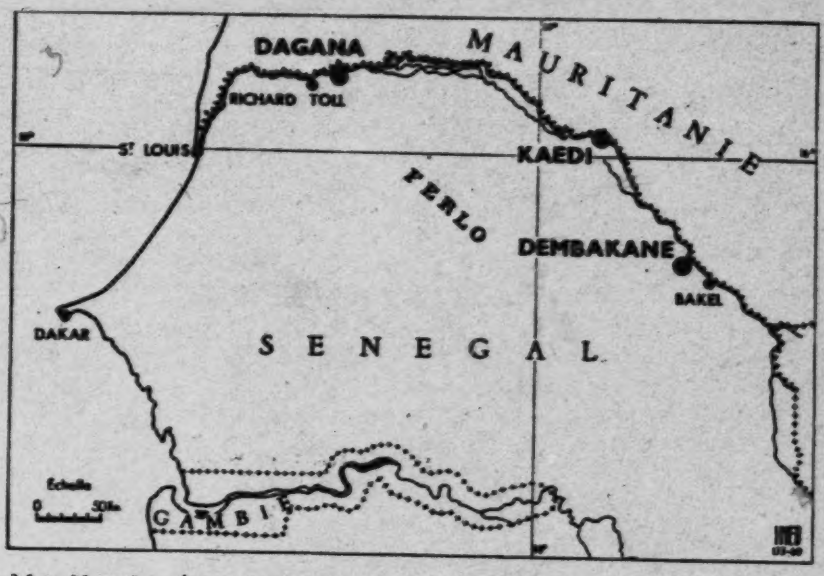

Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 / In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy.

/667 cont./

125 [143] such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did [565] [124] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he belonged. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukulor], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness, [186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for [197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five [361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[175] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

●125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/158 cont./

•125 Before going into a detailed analysis, let us look briefly at the conditions under which the investigation was conducted. Actually there were two of them, the first by [124] questionnaire with an investigator, the second by interviews conducted through the medium of an interpreter. Since one of the aims was to examine carefully the repercussion of the housing conditions on the social reality, we divided the sample into two strata. The first includes the two districts of the Pépinière and the ICOTAF, which together contain the more important dwellings of durable construction and each of which forms a whole -- this is not the case for the district of the Police, still embryonic. (If we have not added the district of the T.P. of Cape Verde to this stratum as we had originally intended, it is because we were obliged to replace the three dwellings drawn by three others as a result of the ill-will of one of the persons responsible.) This drawing was made for 1/10th in order to obtain a sufficient number of replies. As for the /159/ second stratum, it included all the rest of the quarters, and a drawing of 1/20th sufficed. The sampling frame was furnished by the plan of the division into lots, the statistical unit being the parcel. Each parcel was given a number, and the drawing was done with the aid of a table of random numbers. The second stratum included all the parcels located on this side of the road of the Niayes, with the exception of some ten among them located farther along and already occupied, a total of 5,740, giving a sample of 287 parcels. The sampling frame for the stratum of the districts was made up from the data given by the Office de l'Habitat relating to the parcels which were supposed to be occupied at the time of the investigation. That made 500, hence 50 in the sample; in fact, of these 50 there were eight that were still vacant or not completely finished, leaving 42. As for the second phase of the investigation, we have been obliged, as a result of the insufficient resources at our disposal, to reduce the second stratum by drawing in the second stage two parcels for three out of the original sample. The number of the first, however, has remained intact.

/159 cont./

125 124 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

162 166 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation.
●125 But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary
871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the
871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family
125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading
191 of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 37--Analyst]

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

●125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate.
434 In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 [536] [565] But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 [104] [594] Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 434 592 [437] life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part company with it for other activities.

The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 *511 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.

592 434 *511 From the standpoint of income:

13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month.
9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month.
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month.
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month.
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/392 cont./

125
463
*511

From the standpoint of occupational distribution:

5 cultivators.
8 laborers (one specialist).
3 orderlies.
3 "unskilled" office employees.
2 "skilled office employees.
1 "highly skilled" office employee.
6 "unskilled" workers.
4 "skilled" workers.
2 workers having functions of authority.
1 police sergeant.
4 artisans.
1 truck-gardener.
1 private accountant.
1 teacher.
1 African doctor.

125
162
*511

/393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof.
4 Bambara.
3 Sarakolé.
3 Peul.
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/.
2 Sérère /Serer/.
2 Moors.

/393 cont./

125 592 *511 Finally, according to the number of persons making up the unit of consumption:

5 of less than 5 persons.
18 of 5 to 9 persons.
12 of 10 to 14 persons.
5 of 15 to 19 persons.
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 *511 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 592 594 Table I,[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption in men, women, and children, and in the last column its composition in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. - ANALYST]

Thiés
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

W 9R 90 B

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

S *511

/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

S ●125 *511

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

S 426 *511

It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

● 125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):
4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):
3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking, lingerie, clothing 609
preparation, dyeing..... 142

S /432 cont./
162
463 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:
[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]
S
W
[386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
● 125 II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page./

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S
[114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/433 cont./

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and +, the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Organdies	Plain	Lace or Open-work	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 177 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and dresses):

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by way of correction, a more complete method. 125 822

It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white.

/437 cont./

125
822

-- a sheet of simple figures in black on white.
-- 13 colors painted in gouache on cardboards.

Fifty-two women and young girls were subjected to this test. Since they have all been identified among the 4,772 individuals mentioned in the first part of this article, it seemed to us interesting to give here the results of this experiment as far as the color tests are concerned.

/438/ a) Table V

Ethnic Groups Represented by Age

Ages	Wolof (A)	Lebou (B)	Sérèr (C)	Mandjiak (D)	Toucoul. (E)	Peul + Foula (F)	Sarakhulé (G)	Malinké (H)	Sosé (I)	Mandingue (J)	Susu (K)	Totals
14 (1)	1										1	3
15 (2)	4				1				1	1	2	9
16 (3)	6			1				1			1	9
17 (4)	4	1										5
18 (5)								1			1	2
19 (6)	3				1		1					5
20 (7)	4				2							6
21 (8)	1										1	2
22 (9)	1				1							2
25 (12)	2											2
27 (14)	1											1
30 (17)			1		1							2
35 (22)	1											1
36 (23)						1						1
41 (28)								1				1
49 (36)								1				1
	28	1	1	1	6	2	1	4	1	1	6	52

b) Tests used:

/438 cont./

•125
822

Description.

Presented on cardboards of 7 centimeters by 9 centimeters, colored on one side with gouache.

C1 = violet, C2 = indigo, C3 = blue (royal)
C4 = green (Veronese), C5 = yellow (bright gold),
C6 = orange, C7 = red.
C8 = black, C9 = white
C10 = dead leaf, C11 = chocolate
C12 = yellow ochre, C13 = brick red.

/Table VI appears here on an unnumbered page./

/439/ Process

-- The first 7. Questions: a) which are the two colors that you prefer? b) which is the color that you like the least?

-- Add C8 + C9 to the first. The same two questions.

-- It is then asked that two colors be matched (the most beautiful combination possible). Take 1.

-- To the first 9 colors add: C10, C11, C12, C13. Same questions as above.

-- Make a new combination out of the 13 colors: Take 2.

-- With the elements of these 2 combinations make a final combination considered "the best."

It is obvious that this question is not asked when Take 1 = Take 2.

822 3) Results.

a) Simple choice. Rough balance color by color -- out of 52 individuals, each giving six replies in favor (+) and

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

/17 cont./ 369* 563 162 [125]
de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166] [167]
besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

17: Mercier--18 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/20 cont./

state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1).

369x 563

1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation.

[464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted.

369x

II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem.

125 124

/22 cont./ 369x
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic [595]
groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of rela- 369x
tives making up a single household is very variable. We have 592
defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons [104]
living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting together at least a part of their resources.

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the [589]
case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited [125]
to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On
the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain [595]
number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban 162 zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal 161 are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has 648 become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.